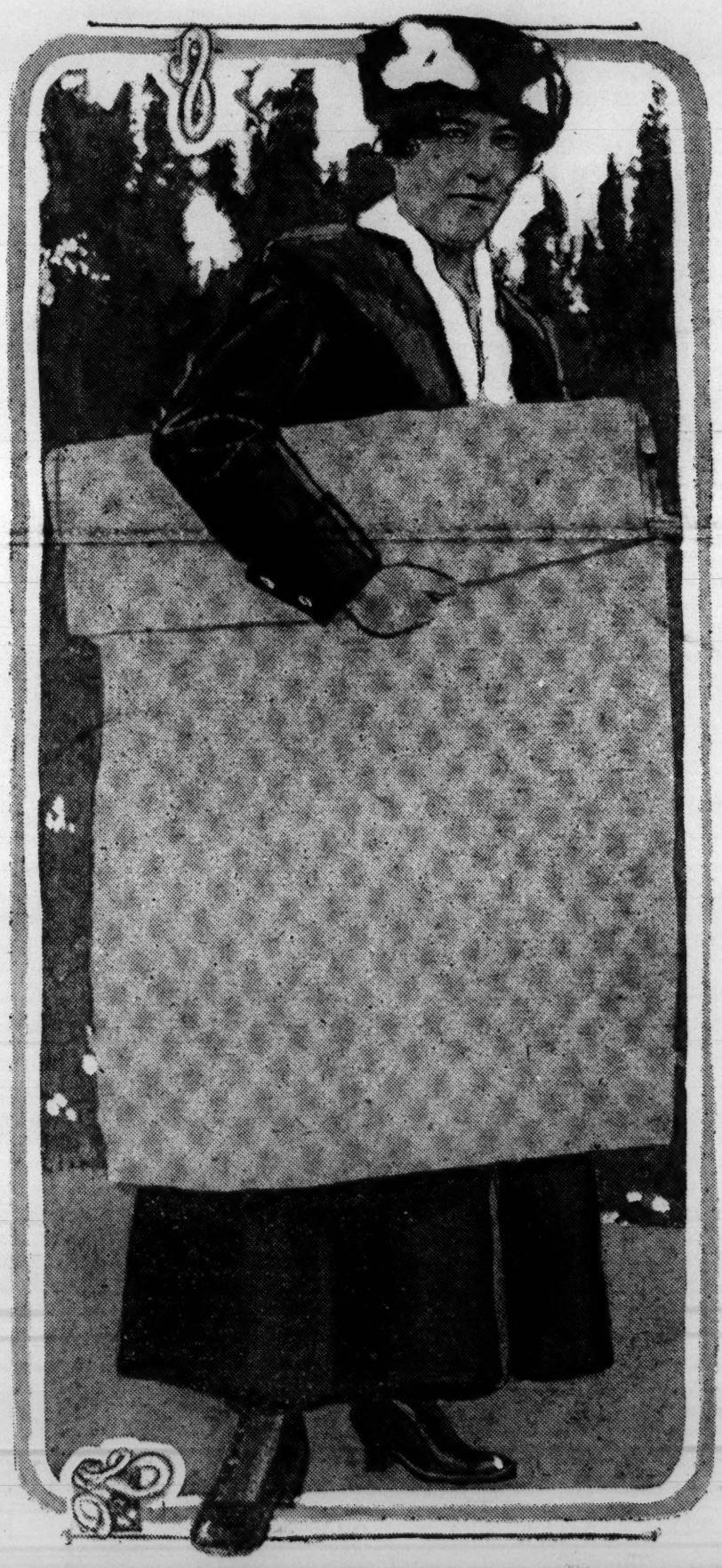
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

OCTOBER 16, 1915



Mrs. Sara Bard Field
of Oregon
and the petition bearing
the names of 500,000
women praying for the
passage of the Susan B.
Anthony Amendment,
enfranchising women,
in the next session
of Congress

The Envoy of the Women Voters to the President and Congress

Vol. III OCTOBER 16, 1915 No. 42

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
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Notes of the Week

Suffrage Appeal by Leading Jerseymen

AN appeal signed by twenty-one leading citizens of New Jersey urging that woman suffrage be adopted at the special election to be held October 19, has been sent out by promoters of the woman suffrage campaign.

The address is an appeal declaring that not only justice, but expediency, demands that women be given the right to vote and that the "number of women demanding the ballot in the United States today is greater than the number of men who have ever asked for anything in the history of the country." It adds that where women have the ballot they vote in the same proportion as men do.

Among those who signed the petition are Former Governor J. Franklin Fort, Mayor Thomas L. Raymond, Richard V. Lindabury, counsel for the Prudential Insurance Company, the United States Steel Corporation, and other large organizations; United States Senator William Hughes, Thomas A. Edison, Frank H. Sommer, counsel to the State Board of Public Utility Commissioners; Attorney General John W. Wescott, H. Otto Wittpen, naval officer of the port of New York, and Democratic leader in Hudson County; State Senator Charles O'Connor Hennessy, of Bergen County; Cornelius Ford, public printer at Washington and a well-known labor leader; former Judge Thomas A. Davis, Judge Frederic Adams, of the Essex County Circuit Court; former Judge Robert Carey, of Hudson; Colonel George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review;* State Commissioner of Banking and Insurance George M. La Monte; Richard Stevens, of Castle Point, Hoboken, of the family that founded Stevens Institute; Sheriff Eugene F. Kinkead, of Hudson; Seymour Cromwell, president of the State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association; Everett Colby, Fillmore Condit, and Champlain Riley, who is chairman of the men's campaign committee supporting woman suffrage.

Among the most prominent men fighting it are United States Senator Martine and James R. Nugent, head of the wing of the democracy which has opposed President Wilson. The state liquor dealers' association has gone on record in opposition to the movement. The only active propaganda against it, however, has been directed by the Nugent machine, the suffragist leaders claim.

The state federation of labor, at its annual meeting, refused to indorse suffrage, but immediately thereafter local labor unions took up the question and indorsed the amendment. The workers in the potteries at Trenton, labor unions in Newark and other centers, took strong ground in favor of it. The pottery workers have welcomed the suffragist speakers enthusiastically.

While the polls at the special election for voting on the constitutional amendment permitting women to vote, will close at 7 o'clock on the evening of October 19, voters may register until 9 o'clock. This unusual situation will somewhat complicate affairs, since under the law each board of registry and election must prepare a registry list of the legal voters and submit the list forthwith to the county clerk.

The compilation of the official registry list, it is said, will require some time, and this, it is conceded, will delay the returns.

Anti-Suffrage Telegrams to White House Proved Forgeries

OPPONENTS of woman suffrage in New Jersey, forging the names of prominent persons of Trenton and other cities, sent telegrams to the White House protesting against the President's announcement in favor of votes for women in his home state.

These telegrams, signed with the names of Richard Stockton, and other prominent New Jersey people, were received at the White House. Secretary to the President Tumulty replied, and received indignant denials from the persons whose names had been signed to the original telegrams, stating that they had sent no messages of any kind whatsoever.

Hundreds of other telegrams from persons favoring woman suffrage have been received at the White House.

Australian Woman to Discuss Suffrage with President

MRS. ADA A. HOLMAN, wife of the premier of New South Wales, one of the most prominent workers for equal suffrage in Australia, is to call on President Wilson and talk with him on woman suffrage.

"The visit will be entirely personal," she explained. "I have come to America to obtain rest from the war spirit, and I shall devote my efforts to the women's cause."

Delegates to Wisconsin Convention Favor Federal Amendment

AT THE state convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, held last week, the delegates, as reported in the Milwaukee *Free Press* of October 8, expressed themselves as not satisfied with the attitude of Congressman John J. Esch of Milwaukee, who, in answer to a direct demand for his stand on suffrage, declared he would vote for it in the state, but had to be convinced of the wisdom of the federal suffrage amendment.

The Wisconsin legislature and its law-makers were scored in the convention. Miss Lutie Stearns called attention to the fact that thirty-nine members of the assembly had voted against every welfare bill, and asked, "What are you going to do about them?" Mrs. Louise Kahlenberg, in discussing her report of the activities of the federation's representatives before the legislature, told the delegates to watch their representative's record, and if it proved unfavorable, to see to it that he was not returned.

Chief Justice Clark on Woman Suffrage and the Race Problem

CHIEF JUSTICE CLARK, of North Carolina, recently declared that the passage of the federal suffrage amendment would not in any way complicate the race problem in the South.

"I am utterly unable," Judge Clark writes, "to see how negro suffrage has *any* bearing upon the proposition for woman suffrage by federal amendment. The Fifteenth Amendment is in the Constitution and there is a federal statute enforcing it under heavy penalties which the U. S. Supreme Court has held that the federal courts must execute. Whether equal suffrage wins or does not win, it has no possible bearing upon negro suffrage. . . .

"The suggestion that, in some unintelligible way, permitting white women to vote will allow negro men to vote who are not now entitled to vote, has its logical counterpart in the statement 'the little negro boys tie the ostrich legs to the cocoanut tree and that accounts for the milk in the cocoanut.'

"If there is any possible connection between the fact that negro men are already allowed to vote and the claims that admitting women to suffrage will give that right validity and effect, this would apply as well whether equal suffrage comes by the state route or a national constitutional amendment." . . .

170,000 Woman Voters at Polls in Norway

WOMEN voted on October 11 for the first time in Norwegian general elections. There are 170,000 new electors on the rolls.

The Norwegian Storthing unanimously agreed June 11, 1913, to extend woman suffrage so that all Norwegian women would have the right to vote at parliamentary elections without regard to the amount of their income tax.

A bill passed in 1907 granted the women of Norway the franchise to the extent that those who had paid their taxes for the year preceding, or those whose husbands had paid for them, were qualified to vote at any election. This enactment added about 300,000 to the electorate.

China to Vote on Monarchy

THE Birmingham *Age Herald* prints the following:

Regulations governing the election of members to a people's conference which is to decide whether China shall adopt a monarchical form of government have been passed by the state council.

The primaries will be completed November 5, and the final vote cast in the provincial capitals ten days later. If the vote favors a monarchy the restoration of that form of government will be promulgated.

Dispatches from Peking on September 22 said that the council of state had advised President Yuan Shi Kai to call a citizens' convention to act on a new constitution which would decide the monarchical question. Today's dispatch indicates the giving of such authorization and shows definite steps for the election of members of the body which will make the decision.

Should it happen that China really returns to the monarchical form of government through this election, one-half of the citizens of the country will have voted away the freedom of the remainder, since women have no voice in the decision.

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SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

Arizona Women See Representative Hayden

NEARLY one hundred women voters of Phoeniz, Arizona, waited on Representative Carl Hayden on Saturday, October 2, urging him to do his utmost for the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the next Congress.

Mr. Hayden promised to support the Anthony amendment, which he declared was "the ideal toward which we should all strive;" yet he was willing to accept "as a fair compromise" the Shafroth-Palmer amendment, "which recognizes the right of each state to determine the qualification of electors for itself."

THE conference took place in the blue room of the Hotel Adams, on October 2, at 10 o'clock in the morning. The women came in a procession of gaily decorated automobiles that had passed with flying colors through the business districts of the city.

Miss Alice Birdsall, a lawyer, the only woman in Arizona who is a member of that profession, acted as chairman of the deputation, introducing as speakers Mrs. Eugene B. O'Neill, Mrs. Edith E. Bradford, Mrs. A. W. Morrill, all of Phoenix; and Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, of Washington, D. C.

The deputation was earnest and formal. "We believe," said Mrs. Bradford in part, in addressing Mr. Hayden, "that in asking you to vote for the Susan B. Anthony amendment we are representing all the women voters of this state; because it seems to us so clear that the Susan B. Anthony amendment is the only one which should receive our hearty and loyal support. The Shafroth-Palmer amendment, when looked over carefully, is plainly unsafe; it presents difficulties which are entirely unnecessary. It seems that it must have been put forward by the enemies of suffrage, and what they were after was to divide our forces, and divide our friends in Congress, and therefore nullify all of our efforts.

"The women of Arizona are not ungrateful for your record in the past, as becomes a Congressman from a suffrage state. We want to impress upon you the desire of the women of this state that you not only vote for us in this matter, but that you work in the halls of Congress among your colleagues, in the party caucus, and in every possible way, in order to help us get this amendment as quickly as possible. We want your work as well as your vote."

MISS BIRDSALL then presented to Mr. Hayden, on behalf of the delegation, resolutions unanimously adopted at a public meeting in the Hotel Jefferson two weeks before, calling on the Arizona Senators and Representative to work and vote exclusively for the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Mrs. Morrill, who is a prominent member in the Arizona Congress of Mothers, spoke on the need for national woman suffrage. "We in Arizona," she said, "who have the privilege of saying how we shall be governed, and who shall govern us, cannot rest satisfied in this state until the women of the whole country have their electoral disqualifications removed from them."

IN reply, Mr. Hayden read a long and carefully prepared statement, of which the essential point was, "I particularly favor the Susan B. Anthony amendment as the most direct way of attaining woman suffrage." Mr. Hayden, however, argued at some length in favor of supporting the Shafroth-Palmer amendment. "It may be true," he said, "that the longest way round is the nearest way home."

The Congressman strongly criticised the "impatience" of the Congressional Union. "I realize," he said, "that there is no more important issue before Congress than that women shall be given the right to vote. I know that this question will not be settled until every woman of every state of this Union has equal political rights with every man. But I am also certain that there are other questions of vital importance to the state of Arizona that require the immediate attention of Congress. One-quarter of this state is in forest reserves, another quarter is in Indian reservations. We have over thirty-five million acres yet in the public domain. There are great reclamation projects under construction, and we want still more money for irrigation works. Our water power that now lies undeveloped must be made available for use. We need federal aid in the construction of good roads and bridges. . . .

"Considering the fact that the greater part of the area of Arizona is still held by the federal government either in reserves, reservations or the public domain, not an acre of which can be taxed to support the state and local governments, we have a right to ask Congress to help us. If we proceed diplomatically, as we have done in the past, we can obtain this assistance which we so badly need. . . . The property-owning women in this audience know that their taxes are high. . . . We must have some help from the federal government, but the best way to get such assistance is not by declaring that equal suffrage is the paramount issue and that every activity of Congress must stop until the ballot is granted to our sisters in the East."

BEFORE the deputation withdrew Mrs. Thompson succinctly answered Mr. Hayden. "Appropriations for Arizona," she said, "will be decided on in committee; the introduction and passage of the bill carrying the appropriation is normally a formal affair. But great federal appropriations, allotting the expenditure of the money of women from every part of the country, certainly ought not to be made while the mass of women are disfranchised."

While Congressman Hayden was unwilling to promise to "put suffrage first," or to give his whole support to one effective suffrage measure, the women who met him felt that he will give the suffrage question more attention in the next Congress than he would have if he had not received ocular proof of the lively interest of his women constituents in the establishment of national woman suffrage.

(*Continued on page* 8.)

Connecticut Women Workers Demand National Enfranchisement

A DEPUTATION of working women called upon Congressman Oakey of the First Congressional District of Connecticut last week to express to him their vital need for the national enfranchisement of women.

The deputation was a very earnest and impressive one. It included business women, teachers and mill operatives, as well as women in domestic service, women in social and philanthropic work, women in stores both as clerks and as milliners, and women in journalism. "If any class of women," said Mrs. Annie G. Porrit, in addressing Mr. Oakey at the close of the deputation, "should call out the feeling of chivalry in men, it is the women who have to go out in the world to work for their own living and the living of those dear to them, and who are hampered by the fact that they are voteless and politically inferior to the men among whom they have to work."

Congressman Oakey received the deputation very cordially. "Woman suffrage," he said, "is one of the problems of the time and will prove such in the Sixty-fourth Congress." He promised careful thought, reading, and study of the subject. The leader of the deputation, Mrs. W. D. Ascough, state chairman of the Congressional Union, expressed her thanks and said that was all they were now asking for.

THE deputation met Congressman Oakey in his office in the Hartford Life Building, on Thursday evening, October 4. Although the night proved very wet, there were over thirty women in the deputation, including contingents from Willimantic, South Manchester, and Middletown. The speakers were Mrs. Catherine Flanagan, who headed a group of girls and women employed in business offices, and as stenographers; Miss Abbey O'Connor, who has been for fifteen years in the spinning mills of Willimantic, and who is a trade union leader and an ardent suffragist; and Miss Grace A. Roberts, a teacher in one of the Hartford schools.

The speaking was spirited and to the point. Miss Flanagan declared that no matter how women did their work they received less pay and less chance of promotion than the boys whom they had gone to school with and whom they had often beaten in their classes. The possession of the ballot, she said, would make such discrimination against women more difficult.

(*Continued on page* 8.)

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Suffrage and Party

"I BELIEVE," said President Wilson in his last statement of faith on woman suffrage, "that woman suffrage should, *under no circumstances,* be made a party question."

This is an extraordinary statement to come from a responsible public man. Any one can easily imagine circumstances under which suffrage would inevitably become a party question.

If one of the leading parties espoused woman suffrage, and the other opposed it, would suffragists be indifferent to the fact?

The statement of the President is an illustration of the loose thinking that educated men can give to a subject that does not personally interest them.

As a matter of fact the suffrage question in this country now possesses the essential quality of a party question—it has something to give.

When so many women are enfranchised, interested as they naturally are in extending their field of political influence and opportunity, it is inevitable that one party or the other will eventually reach out to secure their support.

The first close presidential fight will see it.

Nothing can keep the woman suffrage question from becoming a party question, except the immediate and generous recognition, by both parties, of women's right to freedom. Even then, the balance of gratitude is due to the stronger party, which, in the legislative course of the measure, has held all the critical positions.

IN THE last session of Congress woman suffrage was certainly the subject of much party consideration. Mr. Underwood declared on the floor of the House that the Democratic party was opposed to the federal suffrage amendment. Mr. Henry, chairman of the Rules Committee, referred suffrage workers to Mr. Underwood and the Democratic caucus. The machinery of party was used to block the suffrage measure, and nothing but pressure on party—the strongest pressure that suffragists were then able to exert—cleared a way for it. Yet suffragists are expected to work on in perpetual ignorance of what is hindering them.

State campaigns for suffrage are entered into on the supposition that they are non-party contests. Yet the party machine exists in each state; it does not cease to act because suffrage is under consideration. The "organization" can and does influence thousands of votes for or against woman suffrage.

The most corrupt opponent of woman suffrage would agree with Mr. Wilson that suffrage should not be made a national or party question—should not be decided by the recorded vote of Congressmen and state legislators, but should be referred to the "people" and be decided on in the dark, by secret ballot, with the machine casting and counting votes, and with neither party nor politicians occupying a responsible position.

Suffragists do not intend that their movement shall be permanently jockeyed into such a situation.

A Southern Suffragist on the Federal Amendment

MRS. SAKE D. MEEHAN, state chairman of the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party, writes in the Louisiana *Times-Picayune* (September 16):

"A suffragist, at the present hour, is one who believes in equal political rights for men and women. It is impossible to read into the federal suffrage amendment anything more than this. We are asking our Louisiana Legislature to submit an amendment to the state constitution eliminating the word "male" from the definition of a legal voter. Such an amendment and the proposed federal amendment are identical in effect and, as far as operation is concerned, the women of Louisiana would not know under which they were enfranchised. The striking out of the word "male" in the state constitution would necessarily follow the ratification of the federal amendment, if that came first, no other change being necessary. To say that the state would "forever be deprived under the federal amendment of the control of its own electorate" is to project a purely imaginary hypothesis, worthy of the type of mind that sees broken homes, neglected babies, race suicide and unsexed women as the horrific results of women gaining the voting power.

"As to the ratification by the states, it should be remembered that the constitution places no limit on the time for ratification, and the amendment would remain submitted until ratified by the necessary number of legislatures, if precedent is followed. The assertion that all the southern states would refuse to act favorably on the amendment is groundless. The amendment for the direct election of senators was ratified by most of the southern states in spite of the vigorous "states' rights" propaganda in opposition, which emanated in that case from the boss-ridden East, which had no desire to see the advance of popular government. The South was the winning factor in the case of the Sixteenth Amendment, because of the belief of the southern people in the principles of democratic government. The same principles are involved still more deeply in the equal suffrage issue; and may not the South be depended upon to meet the issue fairly?

"The problem of the colored voter must engage our serious consideration, but the granting of equal suffrage will not complicate, any more than it will solve, the question, although it may be expected that the addition of the very large proportion of intelligent white women to the electorate will help the situation. To say that "by the proposed amendment the women of the land draw to their cause the whole race question" is absurd. If this statement could lie against the federal amendment it could lie equally against the state amendment, which is identical in effect.

"Equal suffragists should resent the attempt to confuse the issue of votes for women with any cause, problem, or selfish and sectional propaganda."

Women Voters' Envoy in Utah

SARA BARD FIELD, envoy of the Women Voters of the West to the Congress of the United States, delegated at the recent convention at San Francisco to carry to the National Congress the demand of free women for national woman suffrage, is traveling rapidly eastward, kindling enthusiasm wherever she goes for the speedy passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

Mrs. Field held a mass meeting on Monday, October 4, at Salt Lake City, and has since then spoken at Evanston, Rock Springs, Rawlins, Laramie, and Cheyenne, Wyoming; Denver and Colorado Springs. She will arrive in Kansas City on Tuesday, October 19; in Topeka, Kansas, on October 21; and in Lincoln, Nebraska, on October 23.

FROM Salt Lake City Mrs. Field writes, "At sunset on the steps of the state capitol, while the earth was glowing in the light of a flaming sunset, and the mountains about stood like everlasting witnesses, Representative Howell of Utah pledged his full and unqualified support to the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the coming session of Congress.

"The state capitol, where our meeting was held, stands on a hill. The world is at its feet. The mountains wall the entire city.

"On the steps of this building Governor William Spry, Mayor Samuel C. Park, and United States Representative Joseph Howell awaited us. We were presented to the state officials by Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells. Mrs. Wells is one of the oldest suffragists now living; she is nearly ninety years old. She was an intimate friend of Susan B. Anthony, and possesses a gold ring sent her by Miss Anthony in the last days of Miss Anthony's life.

"Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, the daughter of Mrs. Wells, and a member of the Utah Legislature, welcomed the envoys on behalf of the women of her state. 'Utah,' said Mrs. Cannon, 'believes in the big principles of justice as it believes in the big development of its natural resources. We rejoice that a voting woman, representing the will of all voting women, is carrying a message of determined power to the doors of our national government.'

"Representative Howell spoke of the friendly relations that exist between the federal government and the states and said that he would be loath to take part in any measure that might unsettle this harmony. 'But,' he went on to say, 'when a state is interfering with the individual rights of its citizens, it is time for the federal government to take action.'

"The Governor and Mayor also spoke and cordially welcomed the envoy and her party. Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, a woman well beloved in the whole community, presided with gracious dignity.

"A chorus of young girls, singing at the beginning and end of the afternoon, deepened the earnestness and enthusiasm of the meeting, and lent it a note of solemn gladness."

THE Salt Lake *Tribune* (October 5, 1915) says, in part: "The automobile bearing the three, the envoy and her two convoys, . . . was met at Fourteenth, South, and State Streets by ten automobiles loaded with more than a score of Salt Lake's most prominent women, every one proud of being able to extend the hand of a voter in welcome to Mrs. Field. The procession of cars, decorated with the colors of the Congressional Union, purple, white and gold, proceeded uptown to the Utah Hotel. From there they were led to the capitol by Grow and Roberts' Band. . . . Mrs. Field was presented by Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, who then called upon Governor William Spry and Mayor Samuel C. Park for addresses of welcome.

"A short though eloquent and feeling address of welcome to the visitors on behalf of the women of Utah was delivered by Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, member of the advisory council of the Congressional Union. The real triumph of the occasion came when Congressman Howell was presented by Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron. Before he was permitted to address the assemblage on the steps of the capitol, Miss Mabel Vernon, field secretary of the Congressional Union, . . . in a rich, 'cello-pitched voice that overreached the extent of the audience, . . . demanded to know what was to be done for the 20,000,000 unenfranchised women of the nation.

"As an excellent specimen of a Utah sunset was being poured in extravagant splashes of gold across Great Salt Lake, Congressman Howell took up the gage, and answered that he would be for an amendment to enfranchise them.

"Mrs. Field told in stirring sentences of how she had been commissioned to carry the plea for enfranchisement to the lawmakers of the nation. . . .

"With the breaking up of the party on the capitol steps the visitors were escorted to the Hotel Utah and were the guests at dinner of the Utah committee of the Congressional Union, Mrs. Cherdron doing the honors. During the evening they visited the state fair.

"The women of Salt Lake who took part in the reception and entertainment of the message bearers were Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Mrs. William Spry, Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Mrs. Don Coray, Mrs. J. W. Clawson, Mrs. Lavina Livingston, Mrs. J. W. McHugh, Mrs. F. C. Schramm, Mrs. W. M. Ferry, Mrs. Freeman Morningstar, Mrs. Richard P. Morris, Mrs. James H. Moyle, Mrs. Edward M. Garnett, Mrs. John Malick, Mrs. Joseph Geoghegan, Mrs. C. E. Cook, Mrs. Ernest Bamberger, Mrs. Zina N. Card, Mrs. L. B. McCornick, Mrs. Arthur H. Bird, Mrs. Walker Salisbury, Miss Kate Williams, Mrs. Frank Judge, Mrs. Hannah Lapish, Mrs. F. S. Richards, Mrs. Lucy Clark and Miss Mabel Vernon."

"I wish you could have been at the meeting at the capitol in Salt Lake," Miss Vernon wrote Miss Paul from Evanston, Wyoming. "It was really beautiful. Mrs. Cannon, who is a truly fine woman, of lovely spirit, said it was the finest thing Utah women had ever done."

Utah Welcomes the Envoys from the Woman Voters' Convention to Congress

Mass Meeting on the Steps of the State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah. First Row, from left to right: Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt, Miss Maria Kindberg, Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Mrs. Sara Bard Field.

President Wilson in Philadelphia

MRS. HARRY LOWENBURG writes from Philadelphia: "When President Wilson was here on Saturday to attend the world's series, automobiles draped with Congressional Union banners stood on Broad Street along the presidential route. This was a silent demonstration of the dissatisfaction of the Philadelphia members of the Congressional Union with the President's announcement of his one-sided attitude towards woman suffrage.

"If 'the privilege and responsibility' of voting should be extended to the women of New Jersey, and if 'New Jersey will be greatly benefited by the change,' Pennsylvania women feel that the whole nation will be materially helped by nation-wide woman suffrage."

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Comments of the Press

WITH the news of President Wilson's engagement comes his own announcement that he will vote for woman suffrage this fall and believes that it will benefit the state of New Jersey for him to do so.

You who have read for the past eighteen years our editorials advocating woman suffrage, will be interested in the news of the President's conversion.

But a short while ago, in Washington, he was telling the women delegates who called upon him in Washington that he could not aid them, that he could not recommend woman suffrage because it was not in the Democratic platform.

Now he says that he believes in woman suffrage as a state affair. That is some progress, although he finds it necessary to add that he does not think woman suffrage a good thing as a national affair.

The President's statement that he thinks votes for women all right in New Jersey, but not to be made a national matter, will not hurt woman suffrage.

The voter in New York will say to himself, "Well, if the women of New Jersey can stand the vote and handle it intelligently, the women of New York will be able to do the same."

Other states in which Mr. Wilson has admirers will also conclude that what is not too good for the inhabitants and the women of Mr. Wilson's state, New Jersey, is not too good for their own state.

After all, women are women, pretty much the same, admirable, faithful, patient, all over the United States.

They are not intelligent in one place, and in another place too dull to be trusted with the ballot.

If it is unjust in the State of New Jersey—as the President at last concludes it is—to deprive women of the ballot, of the right to share in making laws, of the right to say what they think about taxes and war, then it is unjust in other states.

The dog fancier will tell you, "With the bull terrier I cut the ears short and leave the tail long; but that is only for bull terriers. A bird dog I leave with his ears and his tail long, as they were originally. With another kind of dog, instead of cutting the ears short and leaving the tail long, I cut off the tail and leave the ears long. I know what is best for each."

President Wilson, be it said most respectfully, when he suggests that woman suffrage is good for New Jersey, but that it ought not to be made a national question, seems to think that we have different breeds of women in the United States—some of them ought to have the ballot chopped off, and others ought to have the ballot administered.

The general impression in the country is that if women are fit to vote in one state they are fit to vote in all states. And they are.

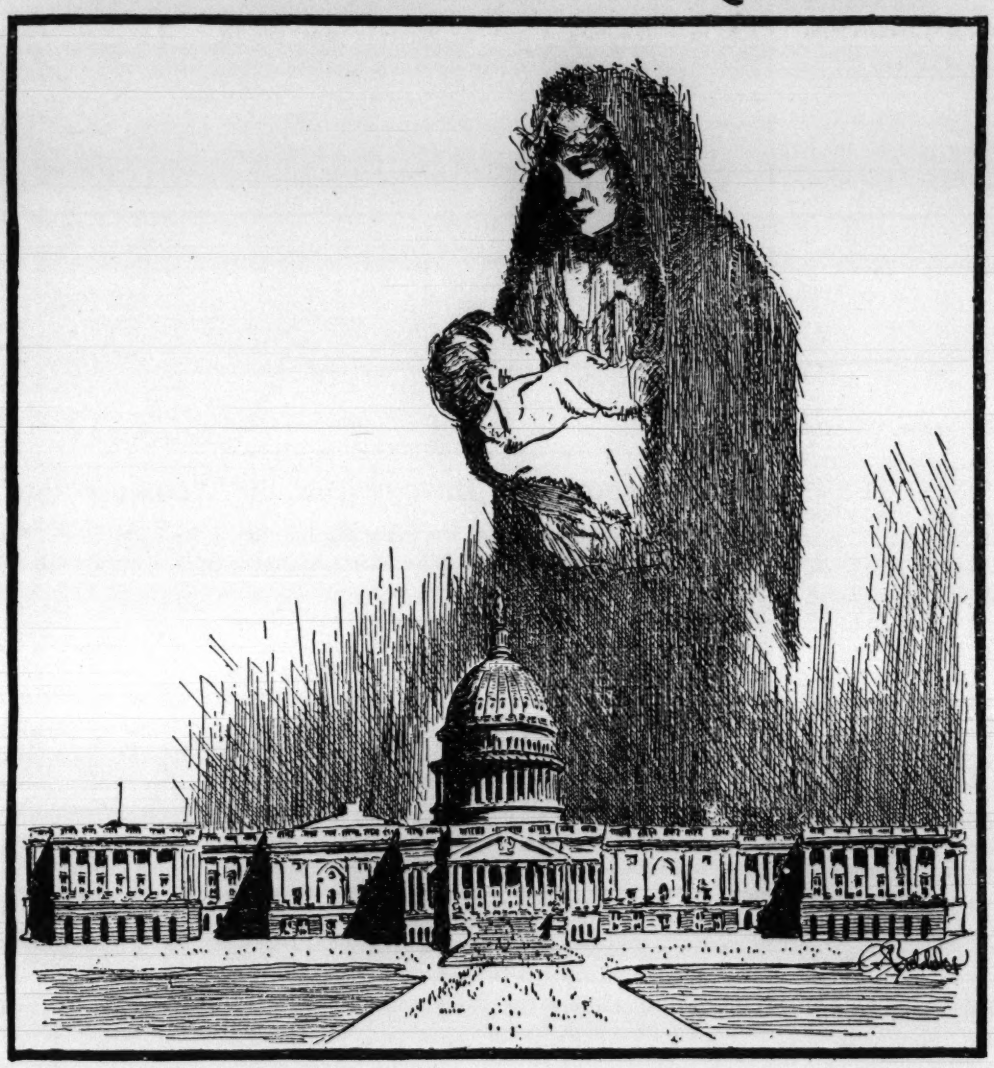
Look at the picture on this page. Does not the woman of the nation, the mother, the creator of the race, the protector of the children, dominate the nation, as she dominates the Capitol in this excellent cartoon?

If woman suffrage, justice to woman, is not a national question, one that should be made a party question by politicians and a question of conscience by individuals, then we do not know what can justly be called a national question.

Mr. Wilson would not suggest that black slavery was a state question. It was a national question indeed, made national by the nation and eliminated by the nation.

Political slavery for woman is vile injustice, and that slavery is national, not local, and the question is national.—*New York Evening Journal,* October 8, 1915.

WHY Is It Not a National Question?



New York Evening Journal, October 8, 1915.

PRESIDENT WILSON has already declared himself to be in favor of having women vote. . . . It is true that President Wilson has restricted this declaration to himself as an individual man, not as the President nor even as a party man. But this restriction is too subtle for everyday use. A man who announces publicly that he believes in a certain change and is going to vote for that change, in his own state, will be up against the job of his life by undertaking, in any office he may hold or as a party man, to withhold his aid from the cause that he has thus supported. The individual man and the President and the party man are all well mixed in President Wilson, and he can no more pull them apart on a public question, like that of doubling the suffrage in the United States, than he can take his head off and lay it away on a shelf for a few days of rest. When the President declared it to be expedient, in his judgment, to extend the use of the ballot to women in New Jersey, he swallowed woman suffrage, bob, hook and sinker, and the women suffragists know this perfectly well.—*Hartford (Conn.) Daily Courant,* October 9, 1915.

PRESIDENT WILSON, rather late, says that he has decided to vote in favor of woman suffrage IN NEW JERSEY. In his official statement he says: "I believe that it (the woman suffrage question) should be settled by the state and not by the national government, and that in no circumstances should it be made a party question."

WHY is Mr. Wilson so earnest in his belief that woman suffrage is not a national question?

Is not suffrage a question of JUSTICE? Is not justice a NATIONAL question?

Who are the men gathered in the Capitol at Washington and around the President's table at Cabinet meetings? Were they not, each of them, created by some woman?

Justice to MEN, MAN'S right to share in government, they call national questions. How can any one of them, above all the President, say that justice to WOMAN is not a national question? . . .

But a change may come. Only a few months ago the President could not "see" woman suffrage at all. Now he sees it as a STATE issue.

Later, as we near election time, especially Election Day for the Presidency, he will perhaps manage to see it as a national issue, as the women of the nation see it.—*New York Evening Journal,* October 8, 1915.

Lining Up for Suffrage

SOME of the reports which the *Sun* obtained from New Jersey say that the faithful among the Democrats would no doubt vote for the suffrage amendment if they felt sure that the President has, accidently or deliberately, put a new plank in the Democratic platform. They are uncertain whether they should accept at its face value the President's effort to separate President Wilson, the leader of the Democratic party, from Woodrow Wilson, a citizen of New Jersey. It is not an easy distinction to make, and many of the suffragist leaders completely ignore it. With them, it is President Wilson who has declared his intention to embrace their cause. One says: "We rejoice that we have a President of the United States who believes in and stands for true democracy," while another says that thousands of women in New York state, where the same sort of vote is to be taken next month, "are filled with new zeal to follow the leadership of our President in his great reform."

It is one of the penalties of exalted position that the man so placed belongs wholly to the public. The people are unable to see in the same man a private person and a public person. All his words and all his acts are associated with the man they know, which is the man in his relation to fame. President Wilson cannot except himself from this rule. The people simply will not have it so. Until the end of his term he must remain President Wilson, who has declared himself, by reason of his election to the presidency, the leader of his party. There he will have to stand.—*Hartford (Conn.) Daily Courant,* October 9, 1915.

News Notes

GOVERNOR LISTER, of Washington state, was visited last week; he was most interested in the plans for promoting the passage of the Anthony amendment, and gave us a letter for the envoys of the women voters to Congress. In this letter he praised the working of suffrage in the western states, advocated the speedy passage of the national suffrage amendment, and recommended the envoys to the consideration and courtesy of the officials of the states through which they pass.

CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

Arizona

Headquarters: *Hotel Jefferson, Phoenix.*
Organizer: *Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson.*

THE past few days have showed great activity here at headquarters. First came Miss Doris Stevens on her way east from California, where she organized the Woman Voters' Convention at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The evening after her arrival we had a conference on the roof of the Hotel Jefferson—an open meeting to which all were invited. At least one-third of the audience were men. The whole gathering was representative. The night was perfect, as only a night in Arizona can be; our colors were everywhere, and the ushers, dressed in white and wearing the Congressional Union regalia, made a gay scene. Miss Stevens' speech aroused great enthusiasm, and a substantial sum of money was pledged. Mrs. F. B. Stevens, president of the Phoenix W. C. T. U., presided. Mrs. Pauline Colodny, business manager of the *Arizona Teacher Magazine,* speaking on the subject, "Why Should We Support the Susan B. Anthony Amendment?" compared the simplicity and directness of the Susan B. Anthony amendment with the deviousness of the Shafroth-Palmer resolution. After the meeting was over a reception to meet Miss Stevens was held.

A great many new members were added; among them are Mrs. Elizabeth Teall, Mrs. H. S. Gasmann, Mrs. S. W. Simonds, Mrs. Josephine H. Ryan, Mrs. A. J. Henderson, Mrs. Ella J. Burns, and Mrs. W. A. Bostrom.

For the automobile procession preceding our deputation to Congressman Hayden reported on page 3 of this issue, cars were very kindly loaned by the Arizona Motor Co., the O'Neill Auto Co., the McArthur Bros., the Huntsman-Hotchkiss Co., the Cadillac Co., and the Trans-Continental Garage. We take pleasure in acknowledging these donations.

Mrs. Marion Walker Williams, of Phoenix, has accepted the office of press chairman for Arizona. Her services will greatly help the work in Arizona for national suffrage. *Ella C. Thompson.*

District of Columbia

Headquarters: 1420 *F Street, Washington, D. C.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Nina E. Allender.*

THE energy of the District of Columbia members of the Union will now be devoted to organizing the National Congressional Union Convention to be held in Washington during the opening week of Congress.

Miss Lamar Latham, of Georgia, who is assisting at the Washington headquarters, is in charge of the arrangements for a mass meeting to be held at the Belasco Theater, Sunday, December 12, to welcome Mrs. Sara Bard Field and Miss Frances Jolliffe, the envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention recently held in San Francisco, who are now on their way to Washington with petitions and resolutions addressed to the President and Congress.

Miss Emily Stearns, of Virginia, who is also assisting at the national headquarters, has taken the chairmanship of the Membership Committee.

Miss Doris Stevens returned this week from San Francisco, where she has been organizing the Woman Voters' Convention, and immediately began preparations for the Washington convention.

A vigorous campaign of street meetings has been undertaken under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ida Waters, who will use this means to arouse interest in the coming convention.

Other chairmen who are now at work in preparation for the opening of Congress are Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, chairman of the Convention Headquarters; Mrs. Elizabeth Owen, chairman of the Literature Committee; Miss Margaret Keogh, chairman of the Photograph Department, and Mrs. Edward Mead, chairman of the Press Department.

Nina E. Allender.

Michigan

Headquarters: 29 *Grand River West, Detroit.*
Organizer: *Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

AFTER the busy week of the convention, the executive board met on Monday morning to lay out plans to send deputations to Congressmen throughout the state, and to arrange as large a delegation as possible to come to Washington in December for the Congressional Union Convention.

Tuesday the City Recreation Commissioners told us of plans to entertain the working women, and we promptly offered our services. So we are to have a Congressional Union evening, giving a play and having speeches. To that end I spoke before the Circle Dramatique, asking their aid. Many joined the Union and subscribed to the paper, and individuals at once offered to help get up a play. It is to be given on November 16.

On Wednesday Mrs. Eugene Shippen, the first vice-chairman of the Michigan Congressional Union, spoke on the Susan B. Anthony amendment before the Liberal Church Conference at Lansing. They unanimously called on Congress to pass it, and signed a petition to that effect. Many joined the Union and subscribed for the SUFFRAGIST; and offered to help with deputations in their various communities.

Mr. Halden has most kindly extended the use of our headquarters, for which we are very grateful.

Wednesday evening the Wayne County Suffrage Association had a meeting, at which Judge Newkirk spoke. He is from Washington, in Senator Townsend's office. He told of the work of the women lobbyists and of the consternation of the Senators over their forceful persistency. Afterwards I asked him if he knew the Congressional Union.

"Why, those were the women I was speaking of," he said. He then told most enthusiastically of the work they had done in the last two years.

Saturday noon a large car covered with purple, white, and gold flags, and full of people, went through the busiest part of the city over to the manufacturing district, where a street meeting was held. Much interest was shown among the laborers, and as we drove off they shouted to us to come again. Mrs. Paul Reyneau made her usual witty, forceful speech.

A luncheon was afterwards given at the Hotel Statler, where more plans were mapped out.

Margaret Fay Whittemore.

New York

Headquarters: 13 *East 41st Street, New York City.*
Chairman: *Mrs. William L. Colt.*

THE Congressional Union was well represented at the anniversary festivals held last week at Vassar.

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, chairman of the Research Committee of the Union, who went to Poughkeepsie to take part in the twentieth reunion of her class, organized a campus meeting in the interest of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

Other prominent members of the Congressional Union present were Miss Hazel MacKaye and Professor Lucy Salmon. Miss MacKaye, who is chairman of the Committee on Pageants for the Congressional Union, put on the beautiful Pageant of Athena, which was one of the most brilliant events of the aniversary week. Professor Salmon, a member of the Advisory Council, is professor of history at Vassar. *Elizabeth W. Colt.*

Ohio

Headquarters: 60 *East Broad Street, Columbus.*
Organizer: *Miss Isabella Mott.*

THE deputation to Congressman Brumbaugh held last week was most successful both in view of the number of women present (nearly two hundred and fifty) and in view of the statement elicited from Mr. Brumbaugh. A full account of the speeches will appear in the next issue of the SUFFRAGIST.

After the meeting we adjourned to the street, where moving pictures were taken of Congressman Brumbaugh and the members of the deputation.

There have been a number of parlor meetings and teas for me in the past week. I find a great deal of enthusiasm for federal work in Ohio.

Saturday I spoke to the Ohio Newspaper Women's Association, and Mrs. Maude M. Miller, one of the best-known newspaper women of the country, explained that she considered the work of the Congressional Union the most efficient and effective suffrage organization in the United States. Her support is very valuable to us. *Isabella Mott.*

Minnesota

Chairman: *Mrs. Alden H. Potter,* 2849 *Irving Avenue South, Minneapolis.*
Organizer: *Mrs. Gertrude Hunter.*

MRS. BENTON MACKAYE, a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, spoke this week before the state convention of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. A. R. Colvin, member of the Minnesota Executive Committee of the Union, has spent considerable time in the neighboring state of Wisconsin, endeavoring to stimulate interest in the work of the Congressional Union in that State.

Jane Bliss Potter.

Virginia

Chairman: *Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith,* 204 *East Grace Street, Richmond.*

DURING the week ending Saturday, October 16, the state fair was held at Richmond. It is one of the most important yearly gatherings of people in Virginia. A stand for speakers was secured by Mrs. Meredith and speeches in support of the federal suffrage amendment were given throughout the week.

Miss Elsie Hill, daughter of Congressman E. J. Hill, of Connecticut, and a member of the Executive Committee, spoke in Richmond on Friday and Saturday, October 8 and 9.

Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, of Washington, D. C., arrived in Richmond on Monday, October 11, ready to hold meetings all week.

Miss Doris Stevens came to Richmond on Monday afternoon to arrange deputations to Senators Martin and Swanson, who were present at the state fair. *Sophie G. Meredith.*

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Contributions toward $100,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributors from October 2 through October 11

Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen	$50.00
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis	60.00
Mrs. Keppele Hall	5.00
Mrs. John Jay White (collected)	5.50
Mrs. Shippen Lewis	10.00
A Friend	10.00
Mrs. John Jay White	20.00
Miss Mary Chain Bassler	1.00
Dr. Helen Marshall Giddings	18.74
Miss Cornelia Treuthart	10.00
Anonymous	10.00
Miss Cornelia H. Hill	.75
Mrs. Ella C. Thompson	5.00
Mrs. Nina G. Proctor	500.00
Membership fees	27.50
Collections	1.20
Per Colorado Branch.	
Miss Carrie Caris	1.00
Mrs. Rosanna Masi	1.00
Mrs. Ella C. Thompson	5,00
Mrs. G. W. Fowler	20.00
Mrs. H. M. Curtis	5.00
Mrs. Lillian Kerr	2.00
Dr. C. E. Spencer	1.00
Total	$769.69
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	79,337.49
Total through October 11, 1915	$80,107.18

Connecticut Women Demand National Amendment

(Continued from page 3.)

Miss Abbey O'Connor spoke, she said, for the 106,000 working women of Connecticut who ought to be represented in the halls of legislation in order to secure decent factories, proper laws against child labor, and good laws for all working people. "To enforce the laws we need the ballot," said Miss O'Connor.

Miss Roberts spoke from the point of view of the women teachers. "Citizens are needed," Miss Roberts said, "to teach citizenship to growing boys. The boys know that women are considered unfit to exercise the ballot, yet women are given the task of teaching citizenship in Hartford in the ratio of nine women to two men."

THE deputation was closed by Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, who made a masterly summary of the political aspect of the national suffrage movement, and urged upon Mr. Oakey as an individual Congressman and as a member of his party, to give full and active support to the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"A few years ago," Mrs. Porritt said, "national woman suffrage was practically negligible. No politician needed to trouble himself about it. Five years of growth in this state has made it a mighty movement and a movement that is going forward with ever-increasing speed. Already there are eleven states where women vote on equal terms with men. At the great Convention of Woman Voters held last month in California, the representatives of these women pledged themselves to put woman suffrage first in national politics and to disregard the interests of all political parties in favor of national enfranchisement for women.

"If you had been a member of the Sixty-second Congress, you would hardly have been aware that suffragists desired a suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution. If you had been in Washington in 1913 and 1914, you would necessarily have been very much aware of the fact. And the Sixty-fourth Congress is going to have the demand of the women impressed upon them far more insistently than it was impressed upon the Sixty-third Congress.

"There will be a presidential election in 1916. It will be a critical election, for the Democrats will make a tremendous effort to keep control of the administration and of Congress, and the Republicans will make an equal effort to regain their superiority. In this election the women in twelve states will vote for President; and if the results of the recent Woman Voters' Convention mean anything, they mean that unless this question is removed from national politics, the votes of the women may decide who will stay in the White House after March, 1917, and the decision may rest entirely on which of the two great political parties shows itself most friendly to the enfranchisement of women. . . .

"There is a way in which this disturbing question may be disposed of before the election next November. That is for the Sixty-fourth Congress in the coming session to pass the amendment removing the disability of sex in regard to voting—what we call the Susan B. Anthony amendment. If Congress should pass this amendment, the suffragists will withdraw from Washington and concentrate their forces on the legislatures of the several states. Nothing more will be asked of Congress, for Congress will have nothing more to give. It will remain to obtain the ratification of the amendment by at least thirty-six states; and this will be the work which will occupy the great army of advocates of votes for women.

"Nor is it necessary that a Congressman should be a believer in votes for women in order that he should vote for our amendment. Congress does not amend the constitution. Congress only submits to the state legislatures a proposed amendment, and this amendment does not become a part of the constitution until the immense majority of the states, thirty-six out of forty-eight, have ratified it. The responsibility for the amendment will rest with the states. Congress merely exercises its constitutional function of giving the states the opportunity of making the decision.

"Hence we feel emboldened to put our request before you, reminding you that a movement that has grown as ours has done within the last five years is a movement that cannot long be withstood."

5,000 New Subscribers

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to "The Suffragist"

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscribers.)

OCTOBER 3 THROUGH OCTOBER 9

Mrs. J. C. Perry	1
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean	2
Mrs. E. C. Thompson	2
Mrs. Ruby Koenig	3
Mrs. William L. Colt	1
Mrs. C. D. Robinson	1
Mrs. W. T. Burch	4
Miss Lucy Burns	2
Miss Isabella Mott	8
Miss Alice Paul	3
Miss May Roland	4
Miss Elsie Hill	3
Total	34
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	1,418
Total number of new subscribers secured by members through October 9	1,452

Members of Deputation to Congressman Hayden

(Continued from page 3.)

AMONG those who took part in the deputation were Miss Alice Birdsall, attorney at law, chairman; Mrs. E. N. Abbot, Miss Alice S. Eddy, Mrs. Edith R. Bradford, Mrs. W. A. Bostron, Mrs. Isa D. Brown, Mrs. M. G. Burns, Miss Hannah Egelston, reporter of the Five Points' *Herald;* Miss Christiana Gilchrist, Mrs. A. W. Morrill, wife of the state entomologist; Miss Florence D. Philes, Mrs. Roseveare, Elizabeth J. Ridhards, Mrs. Nettie Redfield, Mrs. G. W. Stevenson, Mrs. G. W. Simonds, Mrs. Inez Struckmeyer, Mrs. W. O. Sweek, Flavia E. Thorpe, Mrs. K. S. Townsend, Dr. Marian Walker Williams, Mrs. E. N. Winslow, Mrs. Kate Yunger, Miss N. B. Wilkinson, Mrs. E. N. Phillips, General Secretary, Young Women's Christian Association; Mrs. Emma R. Avery, Mrs. Frank McCrary, Mrs. George Brockway, Mrs. J. C. Norton, Miss Grace Kennedy, Mrs. W. W. Wilkinson, Mrs. Pauline Colodny, business manager; Mrs. F. C. Norris, Mrs. R. E. McGillen, wife of the Assistant Secretary of State; Mrs. Friedel, Mrs. W. T. Delano, Mrs. Emil Ganz, Mrs. A. L. Moore, Mrs. Ralph Cameron, Mrs. Royal Lescher, Mrs. Frank Alkire, Mrs. Frank A. Beane, Mrs. William Brawner, Mrs. H. A. Guild, Mrs. Imogene La Chance, Mrs. W. H. McCalla, of Cashion, Ariz.; Dr. Rosa Boido, Mrs. Thomas Kavanaugh, Mrs. Francis Redewill, Mrs. Bennett Hueneryager, Miss Bernice Egleston, Mrs. F. B. Stevens, Mrs. D. N. Barrows, Mrs. Mattie Williams, Miss Lucy Terrill Ellis, Mrs. Harry Blair, Mrs. T. McClusky, Mrs. Fred Stafford, Mrs. Maynard A. Frazier, Mrs. Will Brawner, Mrs. J. D. Blackmer, Mrs. George Peterson, Mrs. J. W. Coverdale, Mrs. Cora M. Thrift, Mrs. Chester Mathers, Mrs. Marlowe, Mrs. Carlton Jones, Mrs. George U. Young, wife of the mayor; Mrs. E. B. Ryder, Mrs. Wisner, Mrs. Fred Flagg, Mrs. S. A. Stafford, Mrs. Duncan McDonald, Mrs. Eugene McGuire, Mrs. Shirley Christy, president of the Phoenix Conservatory of Music; Mrs. A. G. Cate, Mrs. C. E. Ferry, Mrs. Lee Fitzhugh, Miss Samantha Clifton, Miss Georgia Ohlendick, and Mrs. T. E. Farish, wife of the state historian.

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Black and white and white lead, but purples are close in the race, as are also the new African brown and new greens, as well as navy.